

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 MADRID 03387 01 OF 02 310145Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04
NSAE-00 SIL-01 HA-05 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 L-03
NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 /079 W
-----052204 310227Z /70

R 301807Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4050
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION USNATO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 MADRID 03387

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: N.A.
TAGS: PINT, FR, SP
SUBJECT: REACTION OF SPANISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO FRENCH
ELECTIONS

1. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: THE SPANISH POLITICAL CLASS
PREDICTABLY FOLLOWED THE FRENCH ELECTIONS WITH INTENSE
INTEREST, WITH ALL THE MAJOR PARTIES VIEWING THE OUTCOME,
PARTICULARLY IF THE LEFT HAD WON, POSSIBLY INFLUENCING
SPANISH ELECTORAL FORTUNES. ALTHOUGH THE FACT THAT
THE LEFT WAS DEFEATED AND THE IMPENDING HOLY WEEK
HOLIDAYS TENDED TO MUTE PUBLIC REACTION TO THE RESULTS,
THE OUTCOME WAS A PALPABLE RELIEF TO THE SPANISH CENTER
AND RIGHT, INCLUDING THE GOS, AND A VERY REAL
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 MADRID 03387 01 OF 02 310145Z

DISAPPOINTMENT TO THE LEFT, BOTH SOCIALISTS AND
COMMUNISTS. THE BIG WINNERS IN THESE PSYCHOLOGICAL
STAKES WERE SUAREZ AND UCD, WHILE THE MOST NOTABLE
LOSER PROBABLY IS THE DEFLATED PSOE, WHICH HAD BEEN
CERTAIN OF A LEFTIST VICTORY. BUT WE ASSUME THE
EFFECTS, WHOSE ELECTORAL SIGNIFICANCE IS ALMOST
IMPOSSIBLE TO JUDGE IN ANY CASE, WILL HAVE LARGELY

DISSIPATED BY THE TIME SPANISH ELECTIONS ROLL AROUND AGAIN. IT WAS WHAT DID NOT HAPPEN -- A VICTORY OF THE LEFT -- AND THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF AN ENSUING LEFT GOVT THAT WOULD HAVE HAD THE GREATEST POLITICAL IMPACT IN SPAIN. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

2. SPANISH POLITICIANS REGULARLY NOTE THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN SPANISH PARTIES AND THEIR EUROPEAN COUNTERPARTS, AND THEY HAVE LONG TAKEN THE LINE THAT THE FRENCH ELECTION RESULTS WOULD NOT NECESSARILY IMPACT ON SPANISH ELECTORAL PROSPECTS. EVEN SO, THE INTENSE INTEREST OF ALL SPANISH PARTIES IN THE FRENCH CONTEST CLEARLY INDICATED THAT THEY VIEWED THEIR ELECTORAL FORTUNES TO BE LINKED TO THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THEIR FRENCH BRETHERN, ESPECIALLY IF THE LEFT WERE TO EMERGE VICTORIOUS. MOREOVER, PUBLIC COMMENTS BY PARTY SPOKESMEN BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE FRENCH ELECTION REVEALED NOT ONLY THEIR OWN IDEOLOGICAL INCLINATIONS BUT ALSO THEIR ELECTORAL ASPIRATIONS.

3. THE GOVT UCD'S INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY, JAVIER RUPEREZ, IN HIS PRE-ELECTION COMMENT POINTED TO THE FAILURE ON THE ONE HAND OF THE MAJORITY TO CARRY OUT EFFECTIVELY OFT-PROMISED REFORMS, AND ON THE OTHER THE FAILURE OF THE LEFT TO PROPOSE AN ALTERNATIVE IN UNEQUIVOCALLY DEMOCRATIC AND POSSIBLE TERMS. NOTING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MADRID 03387 01 OF 02 310145Z

THAT A LEFTIST VICTORY WOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE CATAclysmic BUT COULD POSE PROBLEMS FOR SPANISH INTEGRATION INTO EUROPE, HE CONCLUDED THAT IN ANY EVENT "THE FUNDAMENTAL THING WOULD BE TO TRY TO RECOVER...A MULTI-PARTY SCHEME ANCHORED IN A BROAD CENTER..." AFTER THE ELECTION, RUPEREZ TOLD REPORTERS THE FRENCH HAD OPTED FOR SECURITY AND AGAINST THE UNCERTAINTY HIGHLIGHTED BY THE SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST SPLIT, AND THAT THEY HAD PUT "A CERTAIN EMPHASIS ON REFORM." UCD SPOKESMAN GUILLERMO MEDINA DECLARED THE ELECTORATE HAD REAFFIRMED ITS COMMITMENT TO WESTERN VALUES AND REJECTED UTOPIAN LEFTIST SCHEMES. ON THE OPERATIONAL POLITICAL LEVEL, UCD WAS VISIBLY HEARTENED BY THE FRENCH RESULTS. THOSE WITHIN UCD WHO BELIEVE THE PARTY MUST CONTINUE TO STRADDLE THE POLITICAL CENTER WERE BUOYED BY THE SHOWING OF GISCARD'S CENTRIST PARTIES VIS-A-VIS THE GAULLISTS, AND THEIR BELIEF THAT UCD MUST STAND FOR REFORM IN ORDER TO AVERT A STRENGTHENING OF THE LEFT WAS REINFORCED.

4. THE SOCIALIST PSOE, IN CONTRAST, WHICH VIEWS ITS FORTUNES TO BE INEXTRICABLY LINKED TO THE SUCCESS OF

EUROPEAN SOCIALISM GENERALLY, CLEARLY WAS DISHEARTENED
BY WHAT IT CONSIDERED THE FRENCH LEFT'S SNATCHING
DEFEAT FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY. PSOE INTERNATIONAL
SECRETARY LUIS YANEZ, BEFORE THE ELECTION, SCORED
TWENTY YEARS OF RIGHTIST GOVT FAILURE IN FRANCE, AND
EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THE PCF WOULD RELAX ITS
"INTRANSIGENCE" BETWEEN THE TWO ROUNDS, THE LEFT WOULD

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 MADRID 03387 02 OF 02 310146Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04
NSAE-00 SIL-01 HA-05 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 L-03
NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 /079 W
-----052226 310229Z /70

R 301807Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4051
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION USNATO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 MADRID 03387

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

WIN, AND WOULD KNOW HOW TO COMBINE PRUDENCE AND AUDACITY
IN GOVERNING. HE WAS UNCERTAIN ONLY WHETHER THE
"FRENCH AND INTERNATIONAL RIGHT" WOULD ACCEPT THE
RESULTS DEMOCRATICALLY. WHEN THE RETURNS WERE IN,
YANEZ BLAMED THE LEFT'S DEFEAT FULLY ON THE PCF'S
BREAK-OFF OF COMMON PROGRAM NEGOTIATIONS IN SEPTEMBER
1977 AND SNIPING AT THE PSF EVER SINCE. HE CONCLUDED
THAT THE PCF "WILL HAVE TO TAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY
BEFORE HISTORY," AND THAT THE RESULTS DEMONSTRATED ONCE
AGAIN THAT SOCIALIST PARTIES SIMPLY COULD NOT COUNT
ON THE COMMUNISTS AND HAD TO PLAN TO WIN POWER AS THE
RESULT OF THEIR OWN RESOURCES AND LABOR. THE FRENCH

OUTCOME CLEARLY HAS IMPACTED ON PSOE TACTICAL
CONSIDERATIONS, BY FURTHER REINFORCING THE SOCIALISTS'
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 MADRID 03387 02 OF 02 310146Z

DOUBTS ABOUT ELECTORAL COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS,
ALTHOUGH IT APPEARS TO HAVE HAD NO SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE
ON PSOE PROGRAMMATIC THINKING.

5. AS FOR THE COMMUNISTS, PCE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY
MANUEL AZCARATE PREVIEWED THE ELECTIONS AS POSSIBLY
DETERMINING WHETHER THERE WOULD BE "A RETURN TO
AUTHORITARIAN SOLUTIONS, FASCIST OR SEMI-FASCIST," OR
"AN OPENING TO THE LEFT, TOWARD SOLUTIONS WHICH
SURPASS THE LOGIC OF CAPITALISM." THE PROSPECT OF A
LEFTIST GOVT IN FRANCE, HE SAID, COULD AFFECT THE
EVOLUTION OF EVENTS IN EUROPE, HELPING TO DIMINISH U.S.
HEGEMONY, AND COULD ALSO ELIMINATE THE RESIDUE OF
COLONIALISM IN CURRENT FRENCH AFRICAN POLICY. SIGNIF-
ICANTLY, HOWEVER, THE PCE HAS MADE NO PUBLIC COMMENT
WHATSOEVER ON THE OUTCOME OF THE FRENCH CONTEST. THE
COMMUNISTS, WHO SEEK BROAD COOPERATION NOT JUST WITH
THE SOCIALISTS BUT EVEN WITH THE GOVERNING UCD, HAVE
LONG BEEN UNCOMFORTABLE WITH MARCHAIS' ADVERSARY
BEHAVIOR VIS-A-VIS THE PSF. THE PCE CLEARLY VIEWS
THE DEFEAT OF THE LEFT, AND MARCHAIS' CONTRIBUTION
TO IT, AS FUNDAMENTALLY UNHELPFUL TO ITS OWN POLITICAL
APPROACH.

6. THE CONSERVATIVE POPULAR ALLIANCE (AP) WAS NOT
INCLUDED IN PRE-ELECTION MEDIA ROUNDUPS OF PARTY
OPINION. AFTERWARDS, HOWEVER, SEC GEN MANUEL FRAGA
PREDICTABLY EXPRESSED SATISFACTION BOTH ON BEHALF
OF WESTERN SECURITY AND BECAUSE LEFTIST BLANDISHMENTS
"DID NOT FOOL THE AVERAGE VOTER." AP, LEAST DIRECTLY
AFFECTED BY THE FRENCH RESULTS, MAY NEVERTHELESS TAKE
SOME HOPE FROM THE IDEA THAT THE SPANISH CENTER MAY
EVENTUALLY HAVE TO CALL ON THE RIGHT IN ORDER TO AVERT
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MADRID 03387 02 OF 02 310146Z

A VICTORY OF THE LEFT. STABLER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ELECTION RESULTS, PARTY LINE, POLITICAL PARTIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MADRID03387
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780139-0372
Format: TEL
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t1978039/aaaaaheq.tel
Line Count: 218
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 41d90fcb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3394226
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: REACTION OF SPANISH POLITICAL PARTIES TO FRENCH ELECTIONS
TAGS: PINT, FR, SP
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/41d90fcb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014